

Message Text

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ORIGIN NEA-04

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /005 R

66610

DRAFTED BY: NEA/INS:JELEADER:HME

APPROVED BY: NEA/INS:DKUX

DISTRIBUTION: NONE INDICATED

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R 282304Z NOV 73

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

INFO RUSBAE/AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI 0000

AMEMBASSY KATHMANDU

AMEMBASSY COLOMBO

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 233814

FOLLOWING REPEAT USUN 4973 ACTION SECSTATE 21 NOV

QUOTE

C O N F I D E N T I A L USUN 4973

DEPT PLEASE PASS AS DESIRED

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: UN PFOR

SUBJECT: GROWING COHESION ON NONALIGNED BLOCK IN UN

1. SUMMARY: MONTHS FOLLOWING SEPT 5-9 ALGIERS CONFER-
ENCE HAVE SEEM MARKED INTENSIFICATION OF LONG-TERM TREND
TOWARDS GREATER COORDINATION OF NON-ALIGNED BLOCS' EFFORTS
WITIN UN. DEGREE OF UNITY SHOWN BY SUB-SAHARA AFRICANS
ON QUESTIONS OF SOUTHERN AFRICA AND BY ARABS IN ISSUES
RELATED TO ISRAEL CAN PERHAPS BE UNDERSTOOD IN LIGHT OF
THEIR GROWING FRUSTRATION WITH SATTUS QUO. WHAT IS NEW
AND POTENTIALLY ALARMING IS THE DEGREE OF MUTUAL, UNQUALTIFIED,
AND GENERALLY EFFECTIVE SUPPORT EACH GROUP IS GRIVING THE
OTHER ON THESE RESPECTIVE ISSUES, AND THE SUCCESS WITH WHICH
THEY HAVE CONCERTED THEIR POSITIONS ON MORE PERIPHERAL
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QUESTIONS, SUCH AS PROTECTION OF DIPLOMATS,
DISARMAMENT, AND UN BUDGET. NON-ALIGNEDS HAVE VOTES TO
DOMINATE MOST ASPECTS OF UN ACTIVITIES, AND TO PARALYZE
THE REST, IT THEY SO CHOOSE. ON MOST QUESTIONS OF CONCERN

TO THE NON-ALIGNED, THE U.S. IS SEEN AS A PRINCIPAL OBSTACLE TO THE SORT OF DIRECT UN ACTION THEY SUPPORT. IF THE NON ALIGNED ARE ABLE TO MAINTAIN THEIR PRESENT MOMENTUM TOWARDS CONCERTED ACTION, THE US IS LIKELY TO FIND ITSELF INCREASINGLY ISOLATED, AND OVERRIDDEN IN UN FORUMS. END SUMMARY

2. THE CENTER OF GRAVITY OF NONALIGNED BLOCK HAS VOER PAST DECADE SHIFTED TO ITS ARAB-AFRICAN CORE, LEAVING MUCH OF THE MOVEMENTS ORITINAL LEADERSHIP (INDIA, INDONESIA, EVEN YUGOSLAVIA) ON THE FRINGES. PRESENT NONALIGNED SOLIDARITY APPEARS TO BE BASED ON SHARED INTEREST IN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, PLUS AN IMPLICIT TRADE OFF BETWEEN THE ARABS AND THE AFRICANS OF SUPPORT IN THEIR RESPECTIVE CAMPAIGNS AGAINST WHAT THEY SEE AS RESIDUAL WESTERN ENCLAVES IN THEIR AREAS OF THE WORLD, I. E. ISRAEL AND THE WHITE REGIMES OF SOUTHERN AFRICA. INCREASED IN COHESION AMONG NONALIGNED MAY RESULT FROM FRUSTRATION WITH STATUS QYO, INABILITY TO FIND SUPPORT ELSEWHERE, AND PERHAPS A GROWING SOPHISTICATION AMONG NONALIGNED MEMBERS, AS WEAK NEW STATES BECOME AWARE OF THE LIMITS OF UNILATERAL OR EVEN REGIONAL ACTION, AND THE NEED TO ATTRACT THE MOST WIDESPREAD SUPPORT POSSIBLE.

3. MOST SPECTACULAR EXHIBITION OF NONALIGNED SOLIDARITY TO DATE HAS BEEN RUPTURE OF RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL BY 22 AFRICAN STATES FOLLOWING THE ALGIERS CONFERENC AND OUT-BREAK OF MIDDLE EAST HOSTILITIES. ARABS HAVE SHOWN ABILITY TO COORDINATE THEIR RECENT ACTION IN THE UN AND HAVE RECEIVED ENTHUSIASTIC SUPPORT FROM THEIR NON-ALIGNED COLLEAGUES, THE EFFECTIVENESS OF WHICH WAS DEMONSTRATED BY NON ALIGNED ROLE IN SETTING UP AND STAFFING UNEF. TO DATE NONALIGNED CONTRIBUTION IN THE S.C. TO UN ACTION ON MIDDLE EAST HAS BEEN GENERALLY CONSTRUCTIVE. HOWEVER, SHOULD ARAB STATES DIRECTLY CONCERNED WISH IN FUTURE TO FRUSTRATE UN ACTION, IT SEEMS PROBABLE THAT THEY COULD COUNT ON SUPPORT OF MOST OF NONALIGNED.

4. PERHAPS MOST ALARMING IN TERMS OF FUTURE OF UN AS AN INSTITUTION IS NONALIGNED CHALLENGE TO THE AUTHORITY OF THE ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON ADMINISTRATIVE AND BUDGETARY
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QUESTIONS, AND CONSEQUENTLY TO THE ABILITY OF THE MAHOR CONTRIBUTORS TO MAINTAIN SOME DEGREE OF CONTROL OVER UN PROGRAMS AND BUDGET. IN MOST INSTANCES NONALIGNED VOTING STRENGTH ONLY GIVES POWER TO BLICK UN ACTION, OR TO PASS ESSENTIALLY MEANINGLESS RESOLUTIONS. ON PROGRAM AND BUDGETARY MATTERS, HOWEVER NON ALIGNED ACTION CAN AND DOES RESULT IN GA DECISION WHICH ARE BINDING ON ALL MEMBERS. THUS IRRESPONSIBLE MANIPULATION OF UN BUDGET BY NONALIGNED COULD QUICKLY CREATE SITUATION IN WHICH ONLY US OPTIONS WOULD BE TO PAY AS DIRECTED, OR WITHHOLD CONTRIBUTION IN VIOLATION OF OBLIGATIONS UNDER UN CHARTER. MISSION HAS REPORTED NONALIGNED EFFORT TO DISCREDIT ACABQ, AND TO INCREASE APP-

ROPRIATIONS FOR AREAS OF INTERES TO THEM. AMOUNTS INVOLVED ARE STILL RELATIVELY SMALL, BUT CONTINUED SYSTEMATIC OVERRIDING OF ACABQ WILL REMOVE LAST BARRIER TO EVENTUAL CONFRONTATION BETWEEN UN MAJORITY AND ITS MAJOR CONTRIBUTORS. (TEN MEMBER STATES CONTRIBUTE 77 PERCENT OF UN BUDGET.)

5. NONALIGNED POSITION ON THE UN BUDGET, PROTECTION OF DIPLOMATS, LAW OF THE SEA, AND NUMEROUS OTHER QUESTIONS ARE CLEARLY RELATED TO THEIR PRIORITY CONCERNS WITH ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, AND "LIBERATION" OF SOUTHERN AFRICA AND ISRAELI OCCUPIED TERRITORY. MORE DIFFICULT TO UNDERSTAND HAS BEEN THE NONALIGNED POSITIONS ON SUCH PERIPHERAL QUESTIONS AS KOREA, CAMBODIA, AND VIETNAM, PARTICULARLY IN VIEW OF THE FACT THAT THE MEMBERS OF THE MOVEMENT CLOSEST TO THE SCENE ARE IN GENERAL THE LEAST DESIROUS OF CONCERTED NON-ALIGNED ACTION. NONALIGNED POSITION ON THESE QUESTIONS SEEMS TO COMBINATION OF EMOTIONAL RESPONSE TO SITUATION THEY SEE AS ANALOGOUS TO THEIR OWN PROBLEMS AND A PRACTICAL DESIRE TO EXCHANGE THEIR VOTES ON ISSUES NOT OF ESSENTIAL INTEREST TO THEM FOR COMMUNIST SUPPORT ON ITEMS OF REAL CONCERN.

6. AFRICAN GROUP, COMPRISING ALMOST ONE-THIRD OF UN MEMBERSHIP, DOMINATE THE NONALIGNED NUMERICALLY. DURING THIS GA SESSION, ALLIANCE OF AFRICANS AND ARABS HAS BECOME MORE SOLID; ARAB DELEGATES ARE GOING OUT OF WAY TO SUPPORT FULLY AFRICAN POSITIONS ON SOUTHERN AFRICAN QUESTIONS, IN RETURN FOR ALMOST TOTAL AFRICAN SUPPORT FOR ARAB CAUSE IN MIDDLE EAST. AFRICANS AND ARABS, IN TURN, ARE MAKING STRONG EFFORTS TO WIN INCREASING SUPPORT FROM ASIANS AND LATIN AMERICANS, ESPECIALLY THOSE WHO PARTICIPATED IN NONALIGNED CONFERENCE. THEY SEEM TO

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BE ENJOYING INITIAL SUCCESS.

7. AN IMPORTANT FACTOR IN THE DEVELOPING SOLIDARITY THIS GA SESSION WAS OBVIOUSLY THE NONALIGNED CONFERENCE AT ALGIERS, HELD JUST PRIOR TO GA OPENING AND CLEARLY DESIGNED TO PROMOTE JUST THIS KIND OF UNITY AT UN. ON A VARIETY OF ISSUES THAT HAVE ARISEN, WE ARE INCREASINGLY AWARE OF IMPORTANCE OF "RESOLUTIONS" ADOPTED AT ALGIERS. ON KOREAN ISSUE, FOR EXAMPLE, WE RAN INTO GREAT RELUCTANCE, EVEN AMONG SOUTH KOREA'S FRIENDS, TO TAKE POSITIONS CONTRARY TO ALGIERS' "DECISION". A TUNISIAN DELEGATE UNABASHEDLY ASSERTED THAT NON NONALIGNED STATE COULD VOTE CONTRARY TO ALGIERS' RESOLUTION, BUT COULD AT THE MOST ABSTAIN. WE WITNESSED RECENTLY AN INTERESTING ENCOUNTER IN FIFTH COMMITTEE IN WHICH MAURITIAN AMB (ALSO AFRICAN GROUP LEADER), WAS IMMEDIATELY AND PUBLICLY CALLED TO ORDER BY ALGERIANS FOR TAKING LINE CONTRARY TO NON ALIGNED POSITION. AMB RESISTED, BUT FINALLY RECENTED AND CHANGED HIS POSITION.

8. THERE ARE STILL CENTRIFUGAL FORCES AT WORK, EVEN AMONG AFRICANS THEMSELVES, AND FISSURES STILL APPEAR EVEN ON AFRICAN ISSUES. REC

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 11 MAY 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: NONALIGNED NATIONS, FINANCIAL CONTRIBUTIONS, MEETING VOTING RECORDS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 28 NOV 1973
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: worrelsw
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1973STATE233814
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: NEA/INS:JELEADER:HME
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: n/a
Film Number: n/a
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1973/newtext/t19731167/abqcejzq.tel
Line Count: 162
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: ORIGIN NEA
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: worrelsw
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags: ANOMALY
Review Date: 19 DEC 2001
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <19-Dec-2001 by shawdg>; APPROVED <06 MAR 2002 by worrelsw>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: GROWING COHESION ON NONALIGNED BLOCK IN UN
TAGS: PFOR, XX, UN
To: n/a INFO RUSBAE NEW DELHI
KATHMANDU
COLOMBO
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005